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BY

**GERHARD LINDBLOM**

STOCKHOLM 1947



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HÅKAN OHLSSONS BOKTRYCKERI

## TUBULAR SMOKING PIPES, ESPECIALLY IN AFRICA

As far as I am aware smoking pipes and their different shapes in Africa have not hitherto been the object of any detailed investigation.<sup>1</sup> The African section in Dunhill's popular »Pipe Book« can hardly be looked upon as one, although it contains much of interest.<sup>2</sup> Thus the pipe may be said to be one of the number of elements of African culture, mostly appertaining to material culture, to which but little attention has been paid hitherto. Some elements of this kind have been dealt with in earlier numbers of this series.

The smoking pipe will probably be met with in more different shapes in Africa than in any other part of the world. Dunhill speaks very aptly of »the myriad pipes of Africa«. Here, however, I shall only deal with the simplest and most primitive type, the more or less tubular pipe. It often suggests a cigarette or cigar holder. The material is bone, reed or cane, wood, stone (of some easily worked kind) or baked clay. In the first two cases mentioned, the pipe may be entirely unwrought, consisting only of a piece of marrow bone or reed. Thus the shape depends on the material.

As has been said, these smoking pipes are the simplest of all as regards shape and probably will also be the earliest. On this point all who have expressed an opinion appear to be agreed. E. Norden-skiöld — who has treated the distribution of the tobacco pipe in South America, regards the tubular pipe as the oldest.<sup>3</sup> Birket-Smith is of the same opinion and points out that this »inter alia appears from the fact that this type is by far the most widespread in America ...»<sup>4</sup>

In the case of the elements of African culture dealt with earlier in this series I have tried to cover as much ground as possible, chiefly in the form of references to the literature, but also in the form of museum exhibits. In the case of the tubular smoking pipe, my material

is not very complete, owing partly to lack of time on my part, and partly to the fact that as a result of the war it is still impossible to obtain particulars from many museums, or at least it is very difficult for the museum staffs to supply them. In spite of this I believe that the following collocation gives a fairly good and complete picture of the occurrence of the type in Africa. It may perhaps be added here that I use the word »smoking pipe» and not »tobacco pipe», as these pipes are also used in some places for smoking hemp.

I will now pass on to the material and begin with South Africa, where this type of pipe is well known, at least among the Bushmen and Hottentots.

## SOUTH AFRICA

In her paper »Native pipes and smoking in South Africa»<sup>5</sup> Miss M. Shaw, B. A. of the South African Museum, also deals with tubular smoking pipes and gives reproductions of ten. As her survey is probably the only one of its kind in existence and is not very long, I venture to quote it in extenso, omitting, however, her references to the literature. She writes (p. 285):

»The simplest type of pipe found in South Africa and possibly the earliest tobacco-pipe (though dagga is sometimes smoked in them too) is a short piece of the shin-bone of some animal. In one end of it the tobacco is stuffed and in the other end dry grass to keep the ashes from coming into the mouth (Plate LXXXV, figs. 1—4). One specimen (fig. 3) has a round disc of ostrich egg-shell, bored in the centre, to serve the same purpose. Occasionally they are ornamented with incised lines. These pipes are still common, particularly among the Bushmen, Hottentots, Bergdama, and Herero of South West Africa, all of whom use them for either tobacco or dagga. The Tswana used them in the early days and in isolated districts do so still, as anyone might do who has no better pipe. The grass in the end serves a double purpose — not only does it prevent the tobacco from coming into the mouth, but also it absorbs the nicotine and is carefully removed and kept to be smoked itself in time of need.

These bone pipes were copied in stone; the shape, however, was modified to that of a European cigar or cigarette holder [cf. Schultze below]. A number of different soft stones have been used for pipes and pipe-bowls, but the majority are some kind of serpentine. They may be cut and hollowed out with an iron spear-point, a knife, or a



small stone or iron drill, after they have been roughly shaped by rubbing on a stone. A knife or an iron point is used to make the simple line ornamentation. Pipes of this sort were and are still used by Bushmen, Hottentots, Herero and Tswana. Among the Korana Hottentots there is a distinction between men's and women's pipes, women using the cigar shape (Plate LXXXV, fig. 6), and men the clay-pipe shape (Plate LXXXV, figs. 10 or 15) described below. To this type of pipe belong the joints of bamboo and tubes of wood described by Stow as being used by the Cape Bushmen, and the latest variety is empty cartridge-cases, which are used alone or mounted in bone (Plate LXXXV, fig. 5). Like the water pipe, this type of pipe may be smoked in private or passed round in company, with a finger put over the mouthpiece to prevent the escape of the precious smoke».

The tubular pipes reproduced by Miss Shaw are from the Hottentots in Griquatown (serpentine or clayey stone), Nama, Namaqualand (section of shin-bone of small animal), Nama, Warmbad (serpentine), Bergdama, Zesfontein (serpentine), and Bushmen, N. E. Kalahari (shin-bone).

To Miss Shaw's brief survey I will now add some references to the literature. The type of pipe in question will, however, probably be mentioned in many more works on South Africa than those referred to here.

In his Handbook Schapera only says quite generally about the Hottentots that »The men often make their own pipes out of serpentine, which they cut with a knife into hollow tubes shaped somewhat like a cigar; or else they use the marrow bone of a medium-sized mammal. The mouth edge of the pipe is thickly stuffed with grass, so as to prevent the ashes of the tobacco from being swallowed; and in company the pipe is passed round from person to person, each taking several deep inhalations to the fullest capacity of his lungs before passing it on to his neighbour».<sup>8</sup> About the Bushmen Schapera writes: »In the north-west their pipes (Plate XI) are generally tubes of serpentine, some 3 inches long and rather wider at one end than at the other, which are cut and hollowed out with the iron spear point or with a knife, or even with a small stone drill. The hollow shin bones of small buck are also sometimes used, but nowadays the most prevalent form of pipe is an empty cartridge-case!» (*op. cit.* 101).

About the Bushmen, in which connection he appears to refer chiefly to those in Cape Colony, Stow says that they »were almost passionately

fond of smoking. Their pipes were made either of wood, reed, stone, or a bone of an antelope. They were generally made in the shape of a tube rather wider at one end than the other. Joints of bamboo were also used, as well as bowls of baked clay.<sup>7</sup> Stow reproduces a bone pipe and a »clay pipe«, the latter resembling a cigarette or cigar holder in shape.

About a Bushman whom Lichtenstein came across a little way south of the Orange River on his journey from the Karree Mountains to Kuruman in Bechuanaland, he says that the man begged for tobacco and stuffed it into a piece of bone (»in einem hohlen Rohrenknochen«) and smoked so immoderately that within a couple of minutes he fell down unconscious, for he did not exhale the smoke but swallowed it.<sup>8</sup> Another Bushman in the district to whom Lichtenstein gave a piece of meat with a shin-bone in it, made a smoking pipe out of the latter, when he had eaten the meat and the marrow out of the bone. He smashed the end of it between two stones and then filled it with tobacco. »I offered him a clay pipe« (presumably Dutch), says L., »but he refused it. He stuck the thick bone far into his mouth and took deep inhalations of the smoke and swallowed it. After three or four draws he handed the bone to a fellow-countryman, who also sucked at it a few times and then put it, still alight, into his leather bag.« (*op. cit.* II, 367).

Passarge says quite generally about the Kalahari Bushmen that their tobacco pipes are pieces of hollow bone about as long as a finger.<sup>9</sup>

About the Naron (of central Kalahari) Bleek writes that »in old days they used stone pipes, cut and bored by themselves out of a certain stone found in these parts. The pipe is simply a hollow tube, some three inches long, with a narrow and a wide end. The hollow shin-bones of small bucks are also used, but today empty cartridge-cases are the staple article for smoking in«.<sup>10</sup>

Within their area in the south Kaukau veldt, by the water place Korikas, close to the border of Bechuanaland, the Auin Bushmen have a small pot-stone quarry, where, according to Gretscher, stone for pipes is taken for the whole of Kalahari, and naturally chiefly for the Auin themselves (cf. Schultze below). It is the ordinary type resembling cigar or cigarette holders, narrower at one end, on which is usually placed an extra holder in the form of half a cartridge-case. The whole pipe may also consist of two cartridge-cases stuck into each other, or

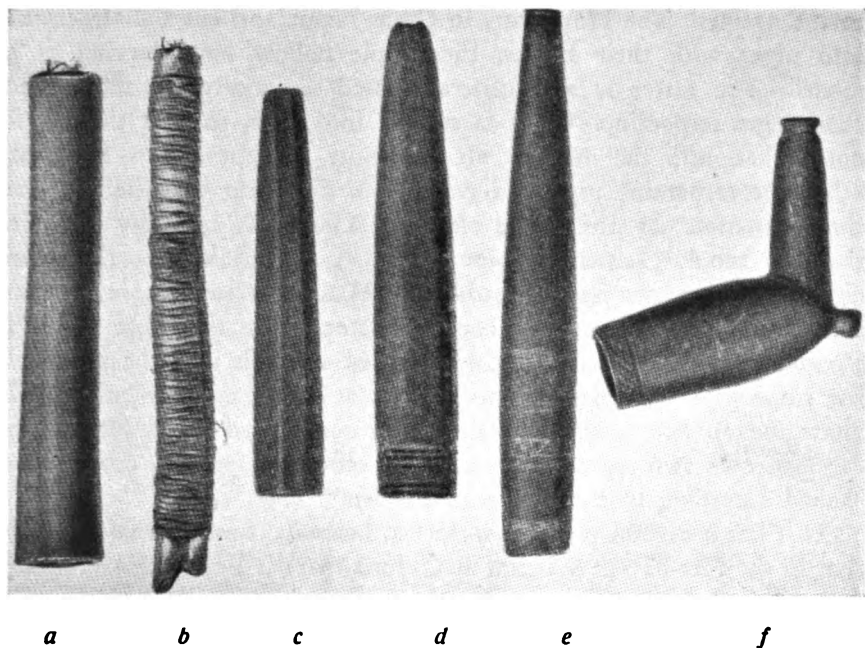


Fig. 1. Hottentot tobacco pipes, S. W. Africa. *a—b* of bone, *c—e* of serpentine, *f* serpentine pipe of European type (after Schultze).

simply of a piece of bone. The tobacco is pushed into the other end of the pipe with the help of a piece of *rosinkis* wood, and a plug of tow prevents it from entering into the mouth. The pipe-stopper, usually adorned with burnt ornamentation, is bored through at one end and is worn round the neck on a thin strip of hide.<sup>11</sup>

To take some examples from the Hottentots, Alexander writes about the Little Namaquas (Nama), in his time still living south of the Orange River, »that their pipes were composed of green serpentine from the Kamiesberg and were straight tubes three or four inches long, narrowing at the mouth piece, and not broader at the other end than to permit their insertion into the common brass tinder box. These pipes were neatly turned and ornamented with a little carving»<sup>12</sup>

Schultze points out that serpentine occurs in some places in South Africa, and that it has been found at the southern end of Brandberg, in the Kaoko country, and also in other places, which are known only

to the natives. The Hottentots in Great Namaland cut the serpentine into pipes with their knives, the simple hollow bone serving as a model. The latter is also generally used, especially by those who cannot get serpentine. Grass is stuffed into both, so that the ash is not sucked into the mouth. »It might be thought», adds Schultze, »that the serpentine pipe is a copy of a European cigar-holder, but the Hottentots do not smoke cigars». Schultze is certainly right in that the tubular serpentine pipe is not an imitation of a European cigar-holder. As we have already seen, Miss Shaw says expressly that the tubular bone pipes were copied in stone. On the other hand, I wonder whether her view is correct when she says that the *shape* of the stone pipe was modified to that of a European cigar-holder (cf. Shaw above). Schultze gives the different names used by the Hottentots for their own two types of pipes, and also a name for their cutty pipes shaped according to the European pattern.<sup>18</sup> (Fig. 1.)

As it has a certain personal-historical interest, it may be added here that in the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford there is a tubular stone pipe (9.5 cm. in length), »given to D. M. Kisch by Jonker Afrikaner», the famous Hottentot chieftain, son of the mighty chieftain Jager Afrikaner, at the beginning of the 19th century.

Among the Bergdama in the Otavi Mountains many still use the cigar-like pipe of serpentine, but the majority prefer the trader's short pipes, which are not nearly so durable. Others content themselves with a piece of carved bone, and others again use an empty cartridge-case.<sup>14</sup> Lebzelter says about the Bergdama in the Herero country that formerly they smoked stone pipes (= ?) »such as are still met with in the Ovambo country», and bone pipes made from the small-bone of a goat carefully polished outside and inside.<sup>15</sup>

The Herero are impassioned smokers, even the women, nay, even the boys and girls from the age of 6 to 8 years, says Irle. Formerly they used »just any hollow bone» and »stone pipes», by which he certainly refers to tubular pipes.<sup>16</sup> The only tubular smoking pipes from Africa in the Ethnographical Museum of Sweden, Stockholm, are three specimens from Herero, but they are of baked clay, roughly made (fig. 2). According to von François the pipes of the Herero are more rarely of clay, »very simply made» (tubular?) but usually of serpentine. The majority are made, he says, by the Bergdama, as the material is abundant in their reservation at Brandberg. »The pipes

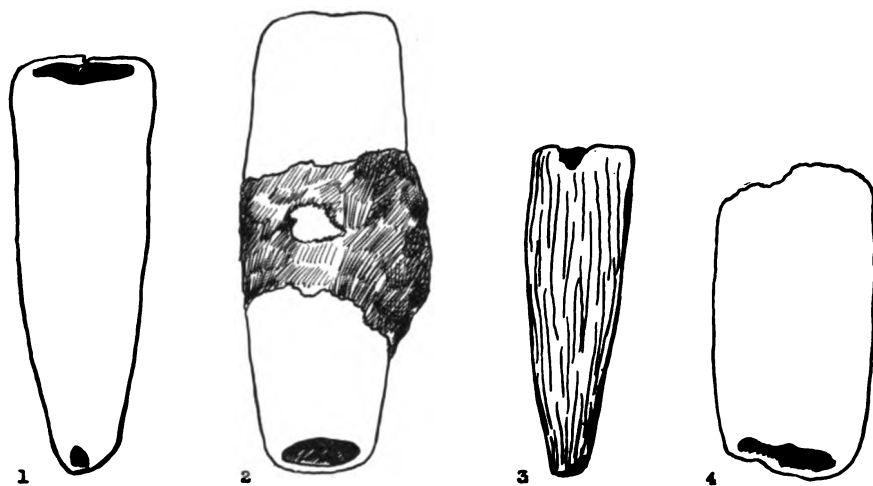


Fig. 2. Herero pipes, the Ethnographical Museum, Stockholm. 1 of brown clay, length 8.5 cm. (no. R. M. 2891). 2 of brown clay, wound round with a piece of skin, fastened on with resin (R. M. 2892). 3 of dark clay, decorated with deep lines lengthwise (R. M. 2893). 4 of dark brown, fairly hard stone, South Africa (without number or particulars of locality).

resemble our cigar-holders of the simplest kind of cherry wood. The stone is bored through lengthwise and provided with a wider opening for the tobacco in the front end». <sup>17</sup> (Translated from German).

I have found no information about tubular pipes in Ovambo — Lebzelter's information quoted above is not clear — and therefore perhaps their most northerly occurrence in South-West Africa may be among the Herero and Bushmen. The clay pipes from South-West Angola, the mission station Mupanda in Amboland, mentioned by Delachaux, are not tubular but may be looked upon as pipe-bowls used without stems. <sup>18</sup>

The South African Museum in Cape Town possesses, Miss Shaw writes to me (letter of 12. 7. 1946) »a fair collection of pipes from Angola, Northern Rhodesia and the Congo, but none of them is tubular». The coarse earth-pipes for smoking either tobacco or hemp described and reproduced by Balfour, which he found in the neighbourhood of the Victoria Falls, certainly sometimes resemble tubular pipes, but they are closed at one end, so that the opening for the

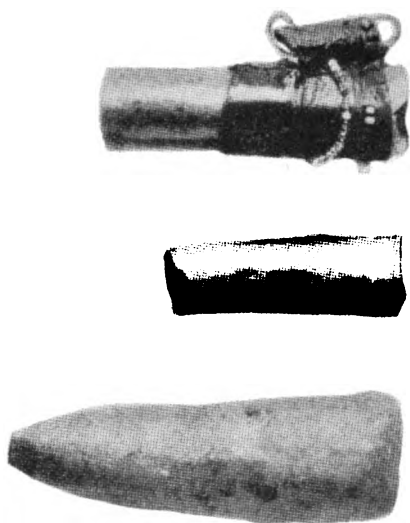


Fig. 3. Native tobacco pipes from Natal. 1—2 bone, 3 clay. Scale  $\frac{1}{2}$  natural (after Balfour).

tobacco is at the side, and therefore they cannot be considered to belong to the tubular type. They are undeniably closely akin to it, and therefore I mention them in passing.<sup>19</sup>

The Tswana — at least some of them have mingled with Bushmen and Hottentots — can suitably be included here. Their tubular pipes of bone and stone have already been mentioned in the above quotation from Miss Shaw. But she gives no references to the literature, and they do not seem to be represented in the South African Museum. However, Lichtenstein mentions that the Bechuana (he has in view principally those by the River Kuruman) both men and women, crumbled tobacco in their hands and smoked it in »Röhrenknochen»<sup>20</sup> (tubular bones).

To what extent the Kafirs of South Africa, more exactly the Zulus and Xosa, used or still use tubular pipes I cannot say, but that the type has been met with among them in our days, even though probably mostly as a substitute for better pipes, is apparent from the description Balfour gives of some which were »confiscated at one of the Natal convict stations where Dr H. D. Kingston was medical officer. Convicts are not allowed to smoke until they have served a certain time with good behaviour. Two of those pipes are simple short tubes of bone, wide open at both ends. One of them is partly

wrapped in skin, and is decorated with beads, and would be worn suspended as a charm round the neck, in order that its real function might escape detection leading to confiscation».<sup>21</sup> All three are thus (fig. 3. See also drawing of a clay pipe in Man 1922, Plate E) of the type usual farther to the west in South Africa. »These illicit clay pipes would be baked at the road-side fire, tended by one of the gang for the coffee kettle while at work or in the cook-house by one of the »sweepers», who are not very strictly watched. These and the bone pipes are used either for tobacco or hemp, whichever can be obtained.»<sup>21</sup>

The pipes collected by Dr Kingston are on exhibition in the comparative collection of smoking pipes which Balfour arranged in the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford, where I last saw them in 1946. One of them is labelled »purchased 1900».

For the rest I have no information about Zulus or other Kaffirs. Miss Shaw does not mention tubular pipes in connection with them. Kidd says, however, that »Further south [of the Zambezi] the natives in older days used bones of animals» when smoking tobacco.<sup>22</sup>

## TANGANYIKA TERRITORY AND KENYA

Another area where tubular pipes are met with is the Tanganyika Territory north and north-east of Lake Nyassa. The pipes (fig. 4) consist of carefully carved round sticks, which are bored through lengthwise with a red-hot iron and are somewhat widened at one end for the tobacco. The length of these pipes varies from a couple of inches (Uhehe, Ubena, Usafwa, etc.) to more than half a metre. Many varieties are met with, especially among the Wakinga, says Fülleborn, and are also made of stone (Wabuanji, Wahehe). Sometimes they are fitted with a little leather lid (*Fülleborn*, Table 37: 17). The long pipes at least are not put into the mouth, but the end is stuck between the closed hands, and the smoke sucked between the fingers.<sup>23</sup>

Fülleborn does not mention this type of pipe among the Konde (only water-pipes for tobacco and hemp), but Böhrenz reproduces a 37.2 cm. long tubular wooden pipe (after the original in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin),<sup>24</sup> and MacKenzie (who does not mention it in the text) has a photograph (fig. 5) of a man smoking a pipe of

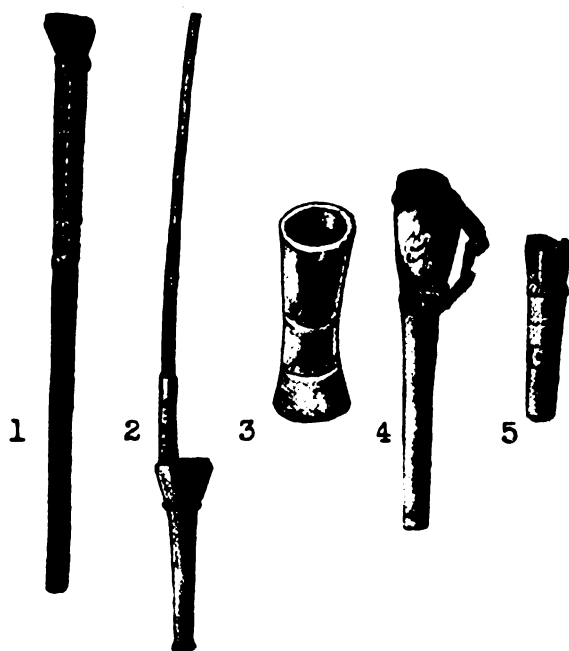


Fig. 4. Tobacco pipes, Tanganyika Territory. 1—4 of wood. 1 is of the shape usual among the Wakinga; the upper part is inlaid with brass. 2 the upper part serves only as a handle; it is protected at the bottom against burning by a piece of European sheet-metal. Wakinga. 3 Saggamaganga district, Wabena. 4 pipe with leather lid. Wasangu or Wasafwa. 5 stone pipe from Buanji. — Scale, 1 = 1 : 10.4, 2 do., 3 = 1 : 3, 4 = 1 : 5.9, and 5 = 1 : 7.2 (after Fülleborn).

that sort with the caption: »There may be only one pipe for a dozen smokers. Each takes one long pull and slowly exhales after he has handed the pipe to his neighbour.»<sup>25</sup>

The Wakinga, north-east of the Konde, also have tubular wooden pipes of great length (fig. 4: 1—2, fig. 6). Fülleborn reproduces one which is 78 cm. in length (Tables 37: 11 and 87 c). In 1926 I noted and sketched in the British Museum a Kinga »stone tobacco pipe», given by G. W. Hatchell (1923. 11. 3. 6). It is shaped like a cigar-holder, the mouthpiece being at the small end.

To Fülleborn's information about wooden tubular pipes among the Safwa may be added that, in her monograph on those people, Kootz-Kretschmer has a photograph of a man (fig. 7) squatting and holding



by one end a long object, widened at the bottom, and reaching to his shoulder.<sup>26</sup> The text to the picture says nothing about it, but in all probability it is a tubular pipe, and that is also Böhrenz's opinion (*op. cit.* 26). Kootz-Kretschmer's description (p. 100) of the Safwa's pipes is so unclear, that even anyone whose attention is directly centred on tubular pipes, can only guess that it is those she is referring to. Thus she speaks of wooden pipes cut in one piece with a bowl, which may be up to 30 cm. long. From the rest of the description, however, one can venture to draw the conclusion that it refers to a tubular pipe, for she says that a leather lid covers the opening when the pipe is not in use, and this lid is fastened to the neck of the pipe with a leather loop (cf. above). »Wenn sie rauchen wollen, nehmen sie den Pfeifenhals in die hohle Hand, umschlingen ihn mit den Fingern und setzen die Hand an den Mund.« This procedure is clearly the same as that mentioned above by Fülleborn and illustrated by him and by MacKenzie.

Fülleborn's mention of these pipes among the Wabena (fig. 4:3) and his pictures of two of them (Table 37:15—16) may be supplemented with the picture of a somewhat different type from the Linden Museum in Stuttgart (fig. 8).<sup>27</sup> In this museum there are also a couple of tubular Wabena pipes of different types, but my sketches of them are all too imperfect to be reproduced.

Further, Fülleborn mentions this type of pipe from Uhehe, but I have not succeeded in finding it in the works on the Hehe that I have gone through,<sup>28</sup> with the exception of Hodgson's paper,<sup>29</sup> where the description is certainly not very clear but must refer to tubular pipes. »The following notes refer to a collection of pipes and snuff-boxes presented to the British Museum«, he writes and continues: »any kind of ordinary cylindrical pipes is called *kigalala*. The *kigalala kinyauwili* is a double-bowled pipe, first one bowl, then the other being lighted and smoked; this kind of pipe saves trouble on a journey . . .»<sup>29</sup> It must be these two pipes, both of wood, mentioned by Hodgson which I sketched in the British Museum in 1926 (figs. 9—10). One had the following label, from which it appears clearly that the pipe in question is of the ordinary shape used by the Hehe: »Ordinary tobacco pipe, *kigalala*, Wahehe.« The other type was labelled: »Double pipe smoked on journeys.« I did not make a note of the measurements, but they are probably about 10 cm. long.



Fig. 5. Tobacco smoking, Wakonde. Cf. the text p. 13 (after MacKenzie).

Fülleborn reproduces (Tables 37: 17) a pipe 27.7 cm. long with a leather lid and leather string for holding it used among the Wasangu (Sango), but adds that the type is also met with among the Safwa (fig. 4: 4). From the »Wabuanji«, probably a people akin to the Sango in the Livingstone Mountains, he reproduces (Table 37: 19) a holder-shaped stone pipe 17 cm. long (fig. 4: 5).

When Böhrenz says (*op. cit.* 26) that the »rod-shaped« pipe of the Safwa is »the one usual in the whole southern part of German East Africa«, I do not understand him, unless he means the *south-western* part above the north point of Lake Nyassa. Weule, who studied the ethnography of the south-eastern part of the area, does not mention the type as occurring there.

We pass on to the Wagogo, who use water-pipes consisting of a calabash with a wooden pipe and a bowl of clay, but on journeys use



Fig. 6. Tobacco smoking,  
Wakinga (after Fülleborn).

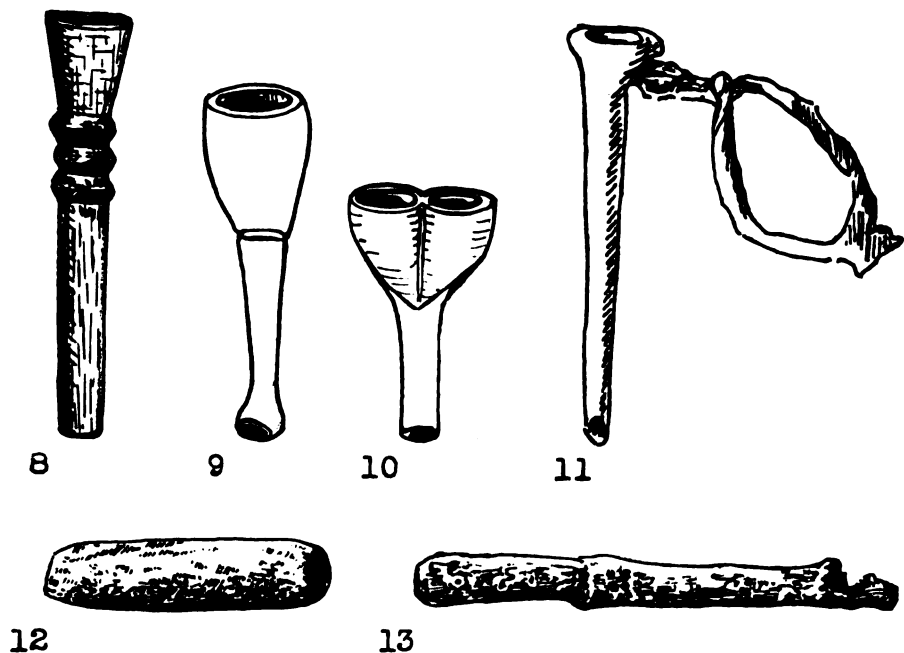
the more easily carried pipe, a tubular one (called *lóido*), made of a bovine fibula.<sup>30</sup> (Fig. 11). It is said to have originated among the Masai, says Claus. It is possible that this is so. On the one hand there are, as we have seen, other peoples in these tracts with tubular pipes, such as the Wahehe — the Wagogo live between the latter and the Masai — but on the other hand, the Wagogo are usually regarded as belonging to tribes who have received cultural influences from the Masai, the so-called »Masai-Affen«, as the Germans say, and they have also absorbed Masai blood.<sup>31</sup> The question is, then, whether the tubular pipe is met with among the Masai. Merker does not mention it in his great monograph on the Masai in the former German East Africa,<sup>32</sup> but it is still possible that it is found or has existed there, at least in the form of a bone tube, judging from Hollis's somewhat unclear statement about the Masai on English territory: »Old men amongst the



Fig. 7. »Berg-Safwa«. The man in the middle is holding a tobacco pipe (after Kootz-Kretschmer).

Masai make pipes of goat's bone, rhinoceros horn, or pieces of wood. They do not, however, smoke much.»<sup>33</sup> Unfortunately Hollis gives no illustrations of pipes.

The tubular pipe is not mentioned as occurring among the Sandawe,<sup>34</sup> but it is certainly found among their kinsfolk the Kindiga or Hadzapi (as they call themselves) and among the Issansu farther northwards. According to Reche, among the former it is made of bark (from a tree) or of a »stick» bored through lengthwise, but is also made of stone. Reche gives an illustration of one of these wooden pipes (fig. 13), the inside of which is very charred and the front end, which is intended for



Figs. 8—13. Tobacco pipes from Tanganyika Territory. 8 Wabena, wooden, about  $\frac{1}{4}$  natural size. Linden Museum, Stuttgart (after Buschan). 9—10 Wahehe, wooden. No. 9 ordinary tobacco pipe, length about 10 cm? 10 Double pipe, smoked on journeys. British Museum (approximative drawing). 11 Wagogo, made of bovine fibula. Length 18 cm. (after Claus). 12—13 Kindiga: 12 of stone,  $\frac{1}{8}$  natural size, 13 wooden,  $\frac{1}{4}$  nat. size (after Reche).

the tobacco, is burnt up. The natural bark of the pipe is still there. Its length is 25 cm. and its diameter 2 cm. The stone pipes are hollowed out with the point of an arrow. They are short, thick tubes, on an average about 10 cm. long, and the tobacco is stuffed into one end. Fig. 12 is an 11 cm. long tube with a diameter of 3 cm., the diameter of the holes at the ends are 1.5 and 2 cm., in the middle only 0.4 cm. The outside in particular is carefully polished. The material is a hard, somewhat fine-grained gneiss-bearing granite. Reche mentions the material for another pipe, which is still unbored, consisting of a fine-grained, granite-bearing mica schist.<sup>35</sup>

According to Bleek all the Kindiga, even the children, smoke tobacco (which they get from the Issansu) in small clay tubes, »some 6 cm.

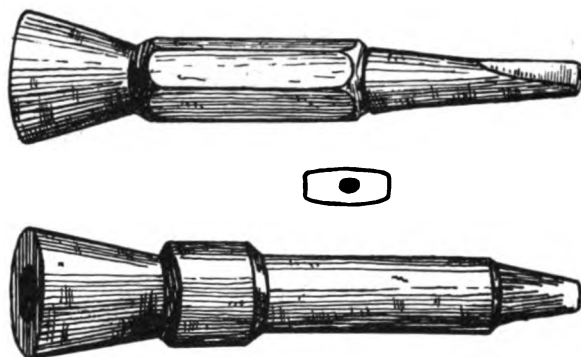


Fig. 14. Wooden cigarette-holders. Washambaa.  $\frac{1}{2}$  nat. size (after Karasek).

long with a narrow and a wide end», or in »longer wooden ones, made by hollowing out a branch of the castor-oil plant, some 36 cm. long and 10 cm. in circumference».<sup>36</sup>

The Issansu smoke primitive hollowed pieces of stick resembling those used by the Kindiga (*Reche*, 70). Even the men are not great smokers.

From the north end of Lake Nyassa and out towards the north-east, the tubular pipe shows a fairly continuous distribution up to the Kindiga and Issansu. I have only succeeded in finding a couple of pieces of information about the areas farther to the north and north-east. Among the Washambaa the most primitive form of pipe persists, which can easily be made, when there is nothing better at hand, of a piece of castor-oil stem (cf. Bleek's statement above about the Kindiga). Into this is pushed a leaf-stem of the castor-oil plant — it is hollow — as a tube. Even women and children make this kind of pipe for themselves when they are working in the fields and have forgotten their clay pipes. The latter are of more recent origin, says Karasek.<sup>37</sup>

Further, Karasek mentions, quite briefly, that the Washambaa have clumsy »cigarette-holders» imitating European ones. In an earlier paper in 1908 he says that the youths carve them for themselves out of hard wood (fig. 14).<sup>38</sup> The hole is burnt out with a red-hot wire, and each holder has a mark indicating the owner. The holder is often worn fastened to the top buttonhole of the kanzu. »They are only rarely seen as yet», he says (1908), »but within a couple of years they will certainly be in general use». Karasek does not give any information

as to how the youths used the cigarette-holders, but they probably smoke cigarettes, imported or rolled by themselves, as the owners of the cigarette-holders are so civilized that they wear the kanzu. Otherwise it would be tempting at least to *reckon with* the possibility that these holders were originally tubular pipes, as the Washambaa sometimes use castor-oil stalks as pipes.

My next example is from the Chuka, one of the minor tribes on the southern eastern slope of Kenya. The pipe is made, »of a suitable piece of hollow wood some eight or ten inches long by an inch wide. Dried grass and rolled-up tobacco leaves are stuffed into one end, to which a glowing piece of charcoal is then held. The pipe is passed round the group, each participant inhaling two or three mouthfuls of thick pungent smoke, which leaves him coughing and tearful, but apparently highly pleased. Much more neatly made pipes are to be found in which the wood is bound with wire, and a kind of rough mouthpiece is contrived». <sup>39</sup> Perhaps this type of pipe is also met with among other minor tribes within this area, the Chuka's neighbours? I have not found any definite information on the subject, however, but refer to what Champion says about the Theraka north-west of the Chuka along the upper course of the Tana. »Tobacco is universally grown», he says, »but only in small quantities. Some of the old men smoke pipes (*morangi*), while others take snuff (see Plate X)». <sup>40</sup> Champion has two small drawings of pipes, one of which has a bowl (clay?), but the other appears to be tubular. The word *morangi* (preferably *murangi*?) is perhaps identical with the Kamba word *mwangi* »reed», and if this is correct, the Theraka should have a tubular pipe which they simply call »tube». The Akamba are southern neighbours of the Theraka, by whom they have been influenced culturally, but the former do not have tubular pipes and do not seem to have had them when Krapf, the first European to describe them, visited them in 1849 and 1851. <sup>41</sup>

I may here add that the Pitt-Rivers Museum possesses a »stemless coolie pipe of clay from Mombasa, the smoke being drawn through the hollow of the hand, clasped around the base» (according to the label). The Indian coolies probably use these simple clay tubes also in other places in East Africa, on occasion at least.

## NORTH AND WEST AFRICA

Another distribution area of tubular pipes is in north-east Africa, among the Beja. Wellsted writes about the Bisharin in the coastal region north of Massaua: »Their pipe-bowls were made from a species of hard, black stone, used without a stick; those who did not possess the luxury of a pipe-bowl were content to inhale the fumes through a hollow cane about five inches in length». <sup>42</sup> That this is a matter of a pipe consisting of a piece of cane is quite clear, but on the other hand, it is probably doubtful whether the stemless *stone*-pipes of the Bisharin are also met with in straight tubular form. Murray mentions very briefly, without any further description, that the Beja make stone pipes of steatite. <sup>43</sup> Schweinfurth again says expressly that the stone pipes of the Bisharin consist of a *knee-shaped* bent cylinder of steatite 3—10 inches long and 1 inch thick; the black ones are valued more highly than the grey, as they are much harder. »The Ababde also», continues Schweinfurth, »like to smoke such pipes but obtain them from the Bisharin», who, according to Schweinfurth, may probably be regarded as their discoverers. <sup>44</sup> The serpentine pipes of the Ababde at least can hardly be included among the tubular pipes. It is true that Klunzinger calls them (they use them in addition to serpentine pipes with stems) »a short tube», but he says that they are bent *at a right angle*, and he has a drawing of one of these pipes, which looks like a pipe-bowl, not like a tube. <sup>45</sup>

The tubular pipe of bone is also met with among the Beja. I have a note of one from the Pitt-Rivers Museum, »from Mene Amer or Hadendoa, Red Sea Province, Major Powell-Cotton, Tokar 1935 (263)». This is probably Tokar, south south-west of Suakin, within the country of the Hadendoa. Crossland, a prominent expert on the Red Sea coast between 18 N and 22 N, says that smoking is rather rare there but chewing universal. He saw no real pipes except water pipes in the hands of Egyptians or Arabs. But the natives burnt tobacco »in the end of a piece of sheep's marrow bone, or as cigarettes». <sup>46</sup>

I have no information about the rest of North Africa until we come to the Atlas Mountains, but for the sake of completeness, I venture to quote what my friend Antonio Mordini answered to my question whether he knew of tubular pipes from Libya: »Le seul exemple que j'ai vu est au Fezzan (Uadi el Azial) en 1932: on prend un fruit pas



encore mur de *Phoenix dactylifera* (datte), on l'envide et on le remplit de tabac qu'on allume a une des extremités. Celà forme une pipe assez pratique». <sup>47</sup>

Another distribution area is among the Berber in more isolated parts of the Atlas Mountains and in the oases south of them. The Pitt-Rivers Museum has a tubular bone pipe »for smoking arrar» from the Shavía, »Auled Mansour village, Rassira, Aurès», collected by M. W. Hilton-Simpson, and another which he acquired in the Wargla oasis, »commonly used for smoking arrar». The latter is 8.7 cm. long. In his description of his journey in 1921 Hilton-Simpson does not mention any pipes, although he speaks of other objects which he collected for the Pitt-Rivers Museum. <sup>48</sup> Perhaps he acquired these pipes during his earlier journey in Algeria (about 1913?). I have not had access to the description of the latter, however, (»Algiers and beyond»). In one place in his book of 1921 Hilton-Simpson says (*op. cit.* 110) that coffee and »cigarettes of Juniper leaf» are the two luxuries of the Shawía. He is then probably referring to leaves of the *Arar* or Gum Sandrac tree (*Callitris quadrivalvus* Vent), a needletree resembling Thuja, which is common in the mountain districts in North Africa, and especially in the Atlas Mountains. <sup>49</sup>

Dunhill says (*op. cit.* 169) that bone-tube pipes are »in universal use among the Berbers of North Africa, except where they are in close contact with Europeans and Arabs. Fig. 149 shows such a sheep-bone pipe, with an iron pricker for cleaning it, which forms part of the normal smoker's outfit (including also a flint and steel), contained in a decorated leather case and hung about the neck of every peasant in Western Mauretania. In the next figure (fig. 150) is the European type of pipe, the decoration — *e. g.* the fluted stem — showing Moorish influence, which is used by the wealthy in the same region». He adds that »many travellers in the interior of North Africa have described such pipes». I have no reason to doubt this statement of his, but it is a pity that he does not give any references to the literature, for I for my part have not succeeded in finding any mention of these pipes.

»No tube pipe is found on the Guinea Coast or in the Western Sudan itself», says Dunhill (p. 170), and in this he appears to be right. But the type is met with among the Falli in the Northern Cameroons, in the form of a thick piece of millet stem cut obliquely at one end. These

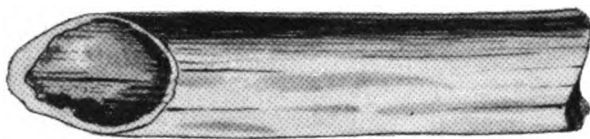


Fig. 15. Tobacco pipe, a piece of millet stem. Falli, Northern Cameroons. Size not stated (after Lebeuf).

people usually use tobacco pipes with clay bowls but »Dans certains cas rares, le tabac est fumé sans l'intermédiaire d'une pipe: on se sert alors d'un fragment de tige de mil dont une extrémité taillée en biseau reçoit le tabac qui, à Ram, est fumé enroulé dans une feuille de mil». <sup>50</sup> This tube pipe is called *gopcla*, and the one reproduced here (fig. 15) is from the Falli in Kangou. It looks as if the type is also met with in other places within this area. Thus from Museum für Völkerkunde in Munich I have a very simple drawing of a tubular pipe from the Cameroons with a narrow tubular mouthpiece stuck in at one end, but I have no exact information as to locality or material. Dr M. D. W. Jeffreys, University of the Witwatersrand and earlier in Nigeria and the Cameroons, has informed me that he does not know of tubular pipes from the British Cameroons (letter August 1946).

I know no more about tubular pipes in Africa. I pass over here the type of pipe with a special bowl, which is nearly straight and thus does not definitely form an angle with the stem but may be said to form an immediate continuation of it. They are met with in places in Africa but can hardly be included among the tubular pipes in the ordinary sense. I will not express an opinion as to whether the type is an immediate development of the latter.

On Madagascar tubular pipes are, according to Linton, used only by the Bara tribe (in the southern part of the island). »The simplest form is a plain joint of slender bambou about six inches long and open at both ends. Powdered tobacco is stuffed into one end with perhaps a wad of leaves or fibre in the middle, to keep it from sifting into the smoker's mouth.» <sup>51</sup>

## ASIA

In India, at least in the central parts, the tubular tobacco pipe — of clay, stone, wood or bark — appears to have been fairly widely distributed. The Pitt-Rivers Museum possesses several, which are ex-

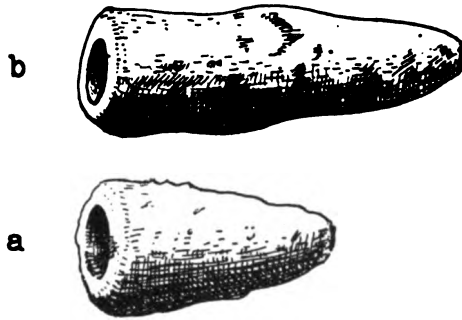


Fig. 16. *a* Tobacco pipe of sundried mud, Nasirabad, Rajputana. *b* of baked clay from Natal, the same as the lowest one in fig. 3. Pitt-Rivers Museum (after Balfour).

hibited in its comparative cases of pipes. One from Nasirabad, Ajmere, Rajputana, »made of sun-dried mud (or, possibly, camel dung) very full of grass fragments» (fig. 16 *a*), is of the same rough type as the one mentioned above as used by Kafir convicts in Natal for illicit smoking, as Balfour has already pointed out.<sup>52</sup> The »stem» is formed by the hand (Balfour, 1922, stated on the label attached to the pipe). There is a similar one from Ahmedabad, one from Benares and a more elegantly made one of baked clay (fig. 17): »Gania pipe from Ganja den in Madras (1923)». A primitive form from Central India is »made of bark, drawn off the branch entire».

The Ethnographical Museum of Sweden, Stockholm, has at least one tobacco pipe, a black one of clay (fig. 18), which certainly belongs to this group: from Gonds in the Chindwara district, C. P. (no. 07. 35. 144). According to a statement by the collector, however, these pipes (*chillam*) are made, not by the Gonds, but by Hindoo potters. »When they are being smoked the pipe itself is not put to the mouth but laid between the hands, which are held in such a way that they form a tube, after which they are put to the mouth. The smoke goes through them into the mouth. A couple of puffs are taken, and then the pipe is passed to the next man and goes round the company» (collector, Dr Enok Hedberg, missionary). Compare the Konde (fig. 5) and other peoples in the Tanganyika Territory.

Further, in our museum there are still about ten objects of red or black clay and also two of wood, which probably belong to the category of tubular pipes. In the catalogue of the collections, compiled by missionaries, they are also called »tobacco pipes (*chilam*)» and not »pipe-bowls». They are from Central India: Seja, Chindwara district,

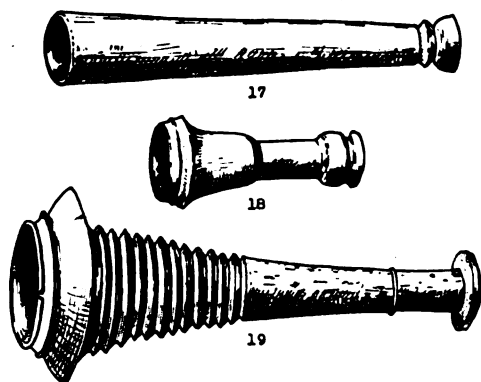


Fig. 17—19. Indian tobacco pipes. 17 of baked clay, Ganja den, Madras. (Pitt-Rivers Museum). 18 do. Gonds, Chindwara district, C. P. 19 wooden, from Seja, Chindwara district,  $\frac{1}{2}$  natural size (18—19 in the Ethnographical Museum, Stockholm).

C. P., Sagar, C. P. and from Bhils. Mention may be made here of one of wood from Seja, probably turned, fig. 19 (o6. 24. 20, length 12 cm.), with a very wide opening with a funnel of sheet-iron inserted in it.

The literature confirms the fact that our type of pipe is met with among the Bhils. Konrad says that their »Pfeife ist ein 11 cm langer, schmaler Tontrichter. Man stellt sie nicht selbst her, sondern kauft sie, wie alle Tonwaren, . . . bei der Kaste der Kuñwār für wenig Geld [cf. the Gonds above]. Weil sich in dem Pfeifentrichter keine Verengung findet, so legt man zuerst ein kleines, rundes Kieselsteinchen hinein. Darauf stopft man sie mit so viel Tabak, als gerade zwischen drei Fingern platz hat. Darüber legt der Bhil noch ein Stückchen glühender Holzkohle. Sodann reißt er einen kleinen Fetzen Tuch von seinem Kleid oder Kopftuch herunter, taucht ihn ins Wasser, drückt ihn aus und legt ihn um das Mundende der Pfeife. Er zieht einen gekühlten Rauch vor. Die drei mittleren Finger der linken Hand legt er auf die Pfeife; mit der rechten Hand umfaßt er die Pfeife mit den drei Fingern. Durch die Öffnung zwischen Daumen und Zeigefinger saugt er den Rauch aus der Pfeife. So kann die Pfeife ohne Gefahr von Krankheitsübertragung von zehn bis zwanzig Männern der Reihe nach geraucht werden».<sup>58</sup> [cf. the Gonds].

The circumstance that the tubular pipe is found in India *may* be of a certain interest for our material from Africa. I have not had time to investigate its possible occurrence in Asia for the rest. It may be added, however, that Dunhill (*op. cit.* 41—42, fig. 31) mentions and reproduces one from Afghanistan and one from Japan, but with the note that they were probably more chance forms »made to order»



Fig. 20. Clay pipe, Bontoc Igorot, Philippines (after Jenks).

to suit »individual needs or caprices». Probably the type is met with in other quarters, especially in more isolated tracts. Professor Yngve Laurell, Shanghai, has informed me that he has seen poor Chinese peasants in the mountainous tracts of Shansi Province (they live in caves in the loess) take the fibula of a sheep or roedeer, chop off the broader part of the top, hollow it out and fill it with tobacco. After being used, the pipe was stuck into the belt, the ordinary place for keeping it. Laurell saw pipes of this sort which were old and worn, and therefore it is not a question of occasional use. These peasants still use the steel and flint, and they have ancient music and customs which are no longer met with among their more advanced brothers down on the plains. In the Philippines we meet with, at least among the Igorot, tubular pipes side by side with others with stems and bowls. The Bontoc Igorot on Luzon make pipes of wood, clay or metal. The wooden one »varies from simple tubular forms, exactly like a modern cigar-holder, to those having bowls set at right angles to the stem . . . Most pipes — wooden, clay, or metal — have separable stems». <sup>54</sup> (Fig. 20.) Probably further examples of tubular pipes would be found from the Philippines if one took the trouble to go through the literature, but I will confine myself to mentioning that the Rijks Ethnographisch Museum at Leiden has some resembling holders, probably from Negritos, of yellow wood and with numerous irregular natural protuberances on the front and with a thin tube of yellow wood at the back (fig. 21). <sup>55</sup>

## NEW GUINEA

In his considerable monograph on pipes in New Guinea, Haddon does not mention any tubular ones of bone or wood, and on the whole hardly any tubular ones at all in the real sense, with the exception



Fig. 21. Wooden pipe, Philippines, probably from Negritos (Rijks Ethnographisch Museum, Leiden). Length 11.7 cm.

of simple tubular bamboo holders, open at both ends; the tobacco, or more generally a cigarette, is put into the distal end. In this case, however, it is a question of a much bigger and longer tube than in East Africa and India.<sup>56</sup> Closely akin to the tubular pipes is perhaps the type which has a nut bowl inserted horizontally in the stem, which is sometimes almost straight (Haddon, *op. cit.* 24, 25, 256).

## AMERICA

In America the tube pipe — in North America of bone, wood, stone, clay and also of copper, and in South America of bone, reed, wood and clay — was, and probably still is, the most widespread type. It is, too, so well known from there, both archeologically and ethnographically, that I will confine myself to some references to the literature. The chief works will be:

J. D. McGuire, Pipes and smoking customs of the American aborigines. Ann. Rep. Smithsonian Institution, 1897, 351—645, Washington 1899.

G. A. West, Tobacco, pipes and smoking customs of the American Indians. Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee. Vol. 17, 2 vols., 994 pp. Milwaukee 1934. Only two pages (155, 313) are given to South America. Cf. Review by H. C. Shetrone, in the American Anthropologist 1935, 498.

E. Nordenskiöld, Südamerikanische Rauchpfeifen. Globus XCIII, Braunschweig 1908. In »An ethno-geographical analysis of the material culture of two Indian tribes in the Gran Chaco» (Göteborg 1919) N. only devotes four pages (91—94) to the tobacco pipe but does not distinguish between the types here.

G. Stahl, Tabakrauchen in Südamerika. Congrès International des Américanistes, XXI (1924), 315—320. Göteborg 1925. Stahl's inaugural dissertation »Der Tabak im Leben südamerikanischer Völker» (Z. f. E. 1925, 81—152) is a considerable expansion of this paper. See also

G. Stahl, Der Tabaksgenuss in der alten Welt von ihrer Entdeckung durch Kolumbus. Acta Nicotiana, 16—36. Berlin 1939.

G. Stahl, Zigarre; Wort und Sache. Z. f. E. 1930 (62).

But let us return to Africa.

### »CIGARS», ETC. IN AFRICA

In the form in which the cigar is met with in Africa it might in some way perhaps be looked upon as a sort of tubular pipe. By this I do not mean that the latter developed from the cigar, as E. Norden-skiöld and Th. Koch-Grünberg consider fairly probable in the case of South America. The tubular pipe would thus be a sort of cigar with incombustible wrappers. Birket-Smith (*op. cit.*) and Stahl are sceptical as to this development, and I incline to their view.<sup>57</sup> On the other hand, the cigar may possibly be older than the tube pipe (cf. the Wahehe below). Whatever may be the connection between them, it may be appropriate to devote a few words to the cigar in Africa. It consists of tobacco wrapped in a leaf or leaves, banana leaves, etc., and will usually look like a thick, clumsy cigar. With regard to New Guinea Haddon says, »The simplest method of smoking tobacco is by the direct employment of the leaves of the tobacco plant rolled up in a narrow bundle or wrapped in a leaf. It may be termed a cigar when there is no wrapper or the wrapper is a tobacco leaf, but, when a different kind of leaf or a piece of paper is used as a wrapper, it may be termed a cigarette. In cigarettes the tobacco leaf may be broken into small pieces or crumbled» (Haddon, p. 4). I know too little of the African »cigars» to say whether they should be called cigars or cigarettes, but if attention is paid to the shape only, the former designation will probably be most appropriate (cf. G. Stahl, Z. f. E. 1930, 47).

On the Zambesi, Kidd says, »The natives make small cigars from tobacco which is wrapped up in banana leaves. The Portuguese call them »carrotes», I believe; I have never seen them south of the Zambesi».<sup>58</sup> Another name, perhaps native, for these cigars or cigarettes on the Zambesi is *canouda*.<sup>59</sup> About the Wahehe Hodgson says that »before pipes came into use, the Wahehe smoked a form of cigar called *mbade*, consisting of tobacco, or tobacco mixed with bhang,

inside a *vibadilo* (wrapping) of leaves of the *mlama* tree tied with pieces of bark string. No other kind of leaf was used; the leaves as well as the tobacco were burnt. Cigars are now only smoked by very old men». <sup>60</sup> There are cigars of this kind in the British Museum. A somewhat obscure statement about the Safwa by Kootz-Kretschmer probably refers to a sort of cigar; she says that they very often do not smoke pipes but only take »grüne Blätter, die sie zum Becher formen» (*op. cit.*, I, 100). By this she probably means that they make a »container» of a leaf, which is filled with tobacco. The Wadjagga sometimes smoke tobacco in cones an inch long, which are twisted from a piece of fresh banana leaf and filled with tobacco. <sup>61</sup>

The cone of banana leaf filled with tobacco, which is pushed in at one end of a cane stalk or a piece of the mid-rib of a banana leaf and may be up to 2 m. long among the Mangbetu, may be looked upon as a sort of cigar with a holder. Such holders or different variations of pipes (such as with the insertion of the leaf-cone at right angles to the stem) will be used in all the primeval forest areas in the Belgian and the French Congo. <sup>62</sup> We will not deal further with them here, however. It may only be added that, apart from »real» pipes with bowls of wood or clay, the Pangwe have some which consist of a piece of the mid-rib of a banana leaf more than a metre long, in one end of which is inserted a funnel of clay or brass foil or consisting of a *Raphia* nut. <sup>63</sup> (cf. Libya p. 22).

These scattered examples of »cigars» could be considerably supplemented, but those adduced may suffice. Finally, it may be recalled only that the Swaheli in East Africa smoke real cigarettes. The tubular pipes which are met with in that part of the continent will hardly be influenced thereby, with the exception of the above-mentioned cigarette-holders among the Schambaa.

## CONCLUSIONS

Probably everyone is now agreed that tobacco reached <sup>the Old World</sup> ~~America~~ from ~~America~~ <sup>the Old World</sup>. Comes's view that it reached the *east coast* of Africa fairly late from India after the arrival of the Portuguese there seems none too probable <sup>64</sup> and, like Stuhlmann, I am doubtful about it. <sup>65</sup> On the other hand, if Comes's view is correct it would be easier to



trace the African tube pipes, and earth-pipes for smoking either hemp or tobacco, from the Indian ones. Balfour also considers that »the resemblances are sufficiently striking and numerous to suggest that they must be explained by the assumption of a culture-link between the two widely-separated areas«. (*op. cit.*, Man 1922, 45). The predominantly easterly distribution of tobacco pipes in Africa, as I have sketched it in this paper, might also argue in favour of it. As is well known, other Indian cultural features can also be proved in eastern South Africa. In spite of this I refrain from taking up a definite attitude, for the present at least, towards Balfour's opinion, but I will return to it below.

Hemp smoking will probably be older than tobacco smoking in Africa. I concur here with, *inter alias*, Stuhlmann's view when he says: »Ich halte es für ziemlich sicher, dass von Asien aus der Gebrauch des Hanfes als Rausch- und Genussmittel sich vor der Ankunft der Portugiesen und vor Bekanntwerden des Tabaks in Ost- und besonders in Südost-Afrika verbreitete« (Stuhlmann, *op. cit.* 343). »Presuming, as we may«, writes Miss Shaw, »that dagga came into the country [South Africa] before tobacco . . .«, and she recalls the archeological finds of bowls for, probably, dagga-pipes which had been found over a large area »from Zimbabwe to the Natal coast« (Shaw, *op. cit.* 281). Again Laufer says that »there is no historical evidence for the opinion that hemp-smoking preceded tobacco-smoking. Neither for ancient India, where the use of hemp as a narcotic originated, nor for the Islamic world do we have a single account of hemp-smoking in times anterior to the introduction of tobacco. It is quite certain that the smoking of hemp from a pipe came into vogue only as an imitation of tobacco pipe-smoking . . .«. <sup>66</sup> The paper in which Laufer probably developed this view is not accessible to me (Tobacco and its use in Asia. Field Museum, Anthropology, Leaflet 29, Chicago).

Before we go further, the question may be asked: Was there any smoking in Africa before hemp and tobacco smoking? Laufer says nothing about any possible forerunner (*op. cit.* 1930), nor do I personally know of any, unless an exception is made for the Bubi on Fernando Po, about who Tessmann states that in general, according to information he has received, before the Europeans arrived they probably smoked a liana which is found mainly in the northern part of the island. Now it is only used by children. A piece of the stem was

simply cut off and lighted, in the same way as European boys smoke cane.<sup>67</sup> The isolated Bubi certainly had an ancient culture (among other things, they were not acquainted with iron before the arrival of Europeans but had stone axes), but it appears to me to be very unsafe to take this statement about the smoking of liana as a proof that they smoked before they made the acquaintance of tobacco. Probably it is a question of a substitute. In this connection it would be interesting to know whether the liana in question contained any stimulating narcotic substance. Although this statement, too, is none too definite, a statement by Reche 1916 (*op. cit.* 15) about the Kindiga in the Tanganyika Territory may be cited here, namely that they have known of tobacco for some time, but that they had already earlier been passionate smokers, and then contented themselves with the dried leaves of other plants. One can hardly venture to interpret this as meaning that the Kindiga smoked before they became acquainted with tobacco. In 1916 at least they still did not grow tobacco but bartered it from the Issansu.

The statements in the literature about the smoking of other things than tobacco in Africa — and I will mention a few — appear, as far as I know, only to refer to substitutes for tobacco or hemp. Miss Shaw mentions the aromatic *Leonotis leonurus* (p. 278), and Boteler tells of a native smoking somewhere north of Port Elizabeth: »Examining the contents of his pipe, I found, to my surprise, that it consisted of nothing more than green leaves and twigs pulled from the bushes around him».<sup>68</sup> The Bambuti pygmies in Eastern Congo have learnt the use of tobacco and hemp from the negroes. When they cannot get anything else they use the leaves of the *medeaka* plant.<sup>69</sup> The Shilluk smoke »in der Zeiten der Not» certain sorts of rush and steppe-grass which is dried and crushed.<sup>70</sup> In these and similar cases it is probably everywhere a matter of substitutes, just as we in Sweden smoked cherry leaves, rose leaves, the leaves of Tussilago, etc. during the first World War.

I do not know of any *archeological* finds which throw light on the tubular pipes in Africa and their age there, but on the other hand, as has already been indicated, stone bowls for dagga-pipes have been met with in South Africa. In his work »The bored stones of South Africa» Goodwin only deals with the latter but not the »cigar-holder» type, about which he only says that it »seems to have come in with

tobacco and is not suited to hemp at all».<sup>71</sup> However, it was sometimes used for hemp in South Africa (cf. Shaw above). Menghin is silent on this question.<sup>72</sup>

With regard to the *material* of the pipes it may be briefly mentioned here that tubular stone pipes are met with in two areas: in the south (Hottentot, Bushmen, Herero, Bergdama, Tsuana) and in the Tanganyika Territory (Kinga, Sango, Kindiga). In South Africa their occurrence is certainly due to the supplies of the easily worked serpentine. I know of no tubes of this material from Tanganyika, but it may be mentioned that the Wanyamwezi and other tribes make »real» pipe-bowls of soft stone (»Weichstein»). North of Tabora there appears to be a centre for such production, which is probably old and is mentioned by the first Europeans in the district.<sup>73</sup> A third area where pipes of soft stone are found lies up in the north-east, among the Beja, who, as we have seen above, have knee-shaped pipes of steatite without stems. It appears probable to me that they also have straight steatite tubes, as they use bone tubes, but I have not succeeded in finding any information on the point. It may be added that the African stone pipes need not necessarily be especially old, but their occurrence is probably due chiefly to the local supplies of serpentine, etc. Bone tubes are probably older, as was pointed out by way of introduction. The pygmies in Eastern Congo, by the way, have never advanced so far as to make stone implements. On the other hand, in this connection it may be recalled that the working up of steatite into cooking vessels among the Beja (Ababde) appears to go back to prototypes in ancient Egyptian times.<sup>74</sup>

Dunhill says (*op. cit.* 36) that stone tube pipes among the Bushmen and Hottentots are used especially by the women, and Pritchett reproduces, without mentioning them in the text, two »women's pipe tubes, S. Africa», clearly of stone.<sup>75</sup> As we have seen above, Miss Shaw points out that, among the Korana Hottentots, women use the serpentine tube and men the type of European clay pipe, both made of serpentine. The difference is due perhaps chiefly to the fact that the women — in conformity with the more conservative tendency which characterizes women in general — keep to the earlier type. Any deeper motives of a magic nature (e. g. that the tube pipe is connected with the male sexual organ owing to its shape) can probably be entirely disregarded. By the way, I do not know of any example of

tube pipes playing any kind of ritual or magic rôle in Africa. In other respects, too, they do not appear to be of any special social importance.

Finally, we come to the questions (1) whether there is any connection between the tube pipes in Africa, (2) whether they are an independent invention there or (3) were borrowed from other quarters? In favour of an independent invention might be advanced the circumstance that the simplest form of pipe is a tube, a gift of Nature, a marrow bone or a reed, and that it ought to be fairly easy to hit upon the idea of using a tube for smoking. But as long as we do not know definitely whether smoking was indulged in Africa before the use of hemp and tobacco, we cannot venture to speak of an independent invention in this case.<sup>76</sup> However, it appears probable to me that there is a connection between the various occurrences of tube pipes in Africa, *inter alia*, owing to the picture exhibited by their distribution there, but this, too, is perhaps difficult to prove. I have not even any opinion as to which of the African cultures they should be ascribed to. If we consider the geographical distribution, however, it would be tempting to suggest in the first place Bushmen or East Hamites. At first blush perhaps it appears significant that tubular stone pipes are met with both among the Bushmen and the Kindiga, who are akin to them, in the Tanganyika Territory. Baumann mentions this as one of the many parallels between the Bushmen and the Kindiga.<sup>77</sup> But as we have seen, tubular pipes, also of stone, are met with among several other more civilized peoples in Tanganyika, and it is hardly probable that the latter were influenced by the shy hunting Kindiga tribe. For the rest the latter are strongly influenced by the Issansu, who also have tubular pipes (of wood), and from them the Kindiga obtained their tobacco. Reche, who analysed the culture within the area in question (*op. cit.* 1916, 120 *et seq.*), unfortunately says nothing about tube pipes. Again, if we include the East Hamites, we could point out that the tube pipe occurs among the Beja, and that strong Hamite influences are found throughout the whole of East Africa down to the Hottentots. We should thereby possibly also find a connection with the West Hamitic Savíja in the Atlas Mountains and their tube pipes. The Chuka and Tharaka on Mount Elgon are also among the peoples influenced by the Hamites. On the other hand, it must be admitted that tube pipes are not met with among the majority of the latter.

If, however, the tube pipe is not indigenous to Africa but came

from outside, we may probably leave America out of account, *inter alia*, because the type is not met with in West Africa, at least not in bone, wood or stone. There then remain Europe and Asia. It is very difficult to say with regard to the former whether the prehistoric bone tubes and conical clay funnels found there with small »mouth openings» were used for smoking (of poppies? cf. *Menghin, op. cit.* 392), while in India we still meet with tube pipes of clay, stone, wood or bark. Balfour's assumption, mentioned above, of a connection between India and South Africa is perhaps something to be borne in mind and may perhaps be extended to apply to the whole distribution of tube pipes in Africa.

However this may be, I would say in conclusion that I do not consider myself bound to try to answer in this paper the questions now propounded. To discuss these problems would require considerably more time and greater space than I can give to this paper, the aim of which is only to determine the distribution of the tube pipe in Africa. If my colleagues and other readers of my paper can give me any supplementary information, I should be very grateful.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> G. Stahl's article »Afrikanische Tabakspfeifen» sounds very promising, but it consists of only three pages, including the illustrations. It is printed, both in German and French, in the periodical »Chronica Nicotiana», Berlin 1943. This periodical and its predecessor »Acta Nicotiana» are not in any public Swedish library, but A.B. Svenska Tobaksmonopolets bibliotek (The Swedish Tobacco Monopoly's library) has it, and the archivist, Mr. Erik Angelin, courteously placed it at my disposal.

<sup>2</sup> A. Dunhill, The pipe book, pp. 162—184, with 4 plates and 22 text figures. London 1924.

<sup>3</sup> E. Nordenskiöld, Südamerikanische Rauchpfeifen, Globus XCIII, 296. Braunschweig 1908.

<sup>4</sup> K. Birket-Smith, Drinking tube and tobacco pipe in North America, Ethnologische Studien, I, 38. Leipzig 1929.

<sup>5</sup> Annals of the South African Museum, XXIV: 5, pp. 277—302. Edinburgh 1938.

<sup>6</sup> I. Schapera, The Khoisan peoples of South Africa, 241. London 1930.

<sup>7</sup> G. W. Stow, The native races of South Africa, 52. London 1910.

<sup>8</sup> H. Lichtenstein, Reisen im südlichen Afrika in den Jahren 1803, 1804, 1805 und 1806, II, 335. Berlin 1812.

<sup>9</sup> S. Passarge, Die Buschmänner der Kalahari, 36. Berlin 1907.

<sup>10</sup> D. F. Bleek, The Naron. A Bushman tribe of the Central Kalahari, 18. Cambridge 1928.

<sup>11</sup> E. Gretschesel, Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann. Jahrbuch des Städt. Museums f. Völkerkunde zu Leipzig, Bd. 5, 106, Taf. 27. Leipzig 1913.

<sup>12</sup> J. E. Alexander, An expedition of discovery into the interior of Africa, I, 99. London 1838.

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- <sup>19</sup> H. Balfour, Earth smoking-pipes from South Africa and Central Asia, Man 1922, 45.
- <sup>20</sup> H. Lichtenstein, *op. cit.* II, 505.
- <sup>21</sup> H. Balfour, Native smoking pipes from Natal, Man 1901, No. 10.
- <sup>22</sup> D. Kidd, The essential Kafir, 345. London 1904.
- <sup>23</sup> F. Fülleborn, Das Deutsche Njassa- und Ruwuma-Gebiet, 158, Tb. 37 and 87 c. Berlin 1906.
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- <sup>26</sup> E. Kootz-Kretschmer, Die Safwa, I, Taf. VIII (p. 300). Berlin 1926.
- <sup>27</sup> A. Haberlandt, Afrika. In G. Buschan, Illustrierte Völkerkunde, I, 598. Stuttgart 1922.
- <sup>28</sup> Smoking is not mentioned in O. Dempwolff, Beiträge zur Volksbeschreibung der Hehe. Baessler-Archiv IV, 87. Leipzig 1913.
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- <sup>77</sup> H. Baumann, Völkerkunde von Afrika, 203. Essen 1940.

Fig. 22.

1. Bushmen, Cape Colony? Wood, reed, bone, stone, clay (Stow).
2. Bushmen, bone (Lichtenstein).
3. Naron Bushmen, stone, bone (Bleek).
4. Auin Bushmen.
5. Hottentots, Little Namaqua, serpentine (Alexander).
6.       »       Great Namaland, serpentine (Schultze).
7.       »       Griqualand, serpentine, clayey stone (Shaw).  
Obs. Korana Hottentots are omitted from the map.
8. Bergdama, Otavi mountains, serpentine, bone.
9.       »       Hereroland, bone (Lebzelter).
10. Herero, bone, stone, clay.
11. Tswana, bone (Lichtenstein), stone.
12. »Kafirs», Natal, bone, clay (Balfour).
13.       »       bone (Kidd).
14. Konde, wood (Böhrenz, MacKenzie).
15. Kinga, wood, stone.
16. Safwa, wood.
17. Bena, wood.
18. Hehe, wood.
19. Sango and »Wabuanyi», wood, stone (Fülleborn).
20. Gogo, fibula (Claus).
21. Masai? fibula, bone (Hollis).
22. Kindiga, bark, wood, stone (Reche), clay (Bleek).
23. Issansu, wood (Reche).
24. Shambaa, Ricinus stalk (Karasek).
25. Chuka, Mt. Kenya, wood.
26. Indian coolies, Mombasa, clay.
27. Bisharin, cane (Wellsted).
28. Hadendoa or Beni Amer, bone (Powell-Cotton, Crossland).
29. Shawia, Aurès, bone (Hilton-Simpson).
30. Oasis of Wargla, bone (Hilton-Simpson).
31. Falli, stalk of millet.
32. Bara, Madagascar, bamboo (Linton).



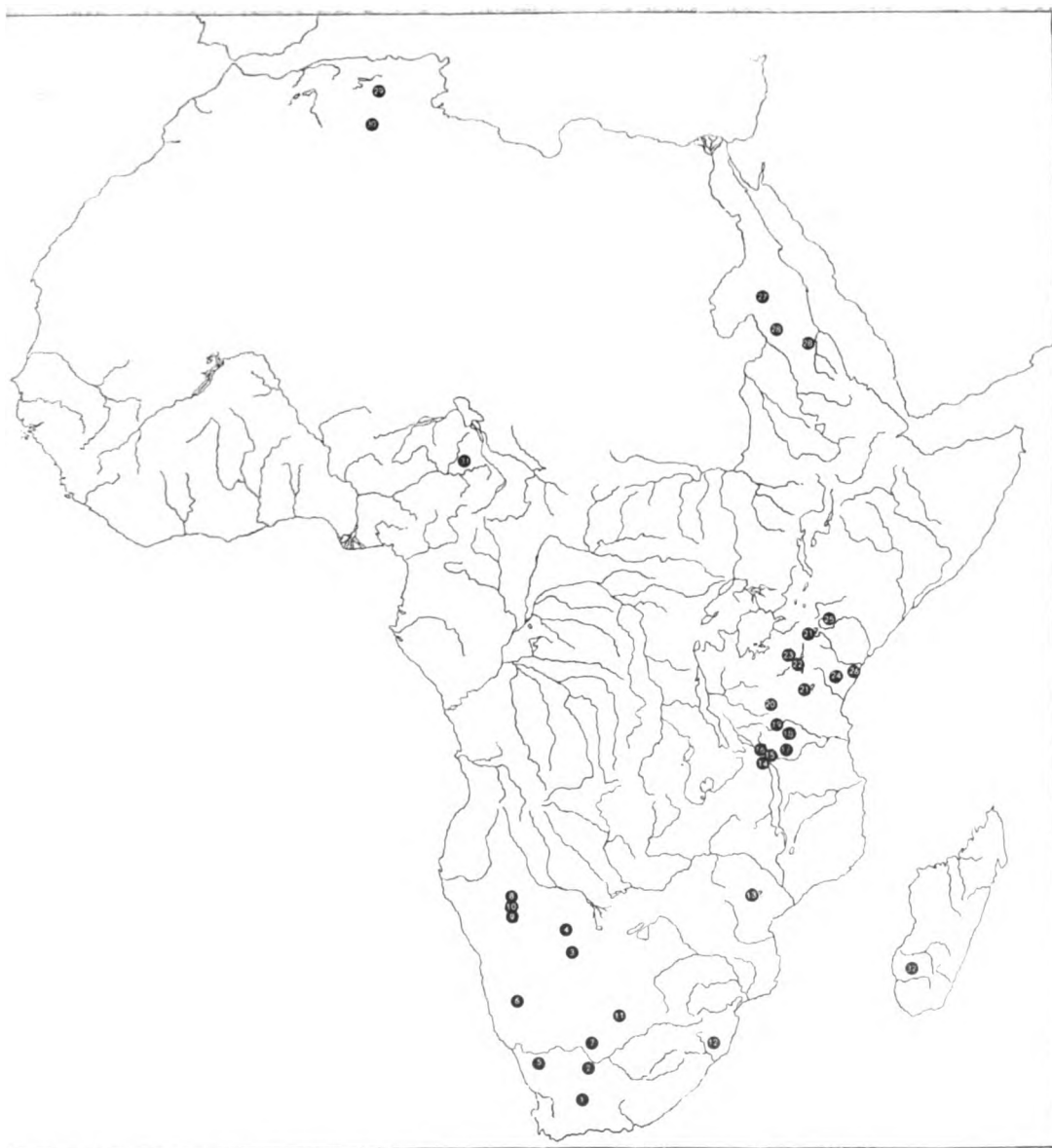


Fig. 22. Tubular smoking pipes in Africa.





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